

DOCUMENTS ON WORLD SECURITY

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DOCUMENTS
ON
WORLD SECURITY

N O T E

This booklet contains official documents relating to the objectives of the United Nations in general and to creation of a world security organization in particular.

The success of the proposals drafted at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta depends, of course, on the understanding and support of the people of the United Nations, and the purpose of THE NEW YORK TIMES in republishing the documents is to promote that understanding.

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THE DUMBARTON OAKS PLAN

(Announced in Washington Oct. 9, 1944, by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China on the decision of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference; voting procedure added at Yalta and announced March 5, 1945.)

There should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

CHAPTER I—PURPOSES

The purposes of the organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

CHAPTER II—PRINCIPLES

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.
2. All members of the organization undertake, in order to insure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the charter.
3. All members of the organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.
4. All members of the organization shall refrain in their inter-

national relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization.

5. All members of the organization shall give every assistance to the organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6. All members of the organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the organization.

The organization should insure that states not members of the organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER III—MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the organization should be open to all peace-loving states.

CHAPTER IV—PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The organization should have as its principal organs:

- a. A General Assembly;
- b. A Security Council;
- c. An International Court of Justice; and
- d. A Secretariat.

2. The organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

CHAPTER V—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Section A—Composition

All members of the organization should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the charter.

Section B—Functions and Powers

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the organization or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such

questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the organization upon recommendation of the Security Council.

3. The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the organization against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the Security Council, to expel from the organization any member of the organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4. The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation of the Security Council, the secretary-general of the organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court.

5. The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the organization and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the organization.

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

7. The General Assembly should make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic, social and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the organization.

8. The General Assembly should receive and consider annual

and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the organization.

Section C—Voting

1. Each member of the organization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions should be made by a two-thirds majority, of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

Section D—Procedure

1. The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

2. The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.

3. The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER VI—THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Section A—Composition

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the organization. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats. These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

Section B—Principal Functions and Powers

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the organization, members of the organization should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization.

3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

4. All members of the organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

5. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the military staff committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, Paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the organization.

Section C—Voting

1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A, and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

Section D—Procedure

1. The Security Council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each state member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters

of the organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the Security Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative.

2. The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions including regional subcommittees of the military staff committee.

3. The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

4. Any member of the organization should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the organization are specially affected.

5. Any member of the organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any state not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

CHAPTER VII—AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

1. There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the organization.

2. The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the charter of the organization.

3. The statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable or (b) a new statute in the preparation of which the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

4. All members of the organization should ipso facto be parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice.

5. Conditions under which states not members of the organization may become parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER VIII—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, INCLUDING PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF AGGRESSION

Section A—Pacific Settlement of Disputes

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Any State, whether member of the organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should, in each case, decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under Paragraph 5.

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

6. Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court, for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes.

7. The provisions of Paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.

**Section B—Determination of Threats to the Peace
or Acts of Aggression and Action With Respect Thereto**

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in Paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under Paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization.

2. In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

3. The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the organization to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the organization.

5. In order that all members of the organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and

to ratification by the signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.

6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the organization there should be held immediately available by the members of the organization national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Paragraph 5 above.

7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the organization in cooperation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members.

8. Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Paragraph 9 below.

9. There should be established a Military Staff Committee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

10. The members of the organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

11. Any State, whether a member of the organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

Section C—Regional Arrangements

1. Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

2. The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

3. The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX—ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION

Section A—Purpose and Relationships

1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

Section B—Composition and Voting

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen members of the organization. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

Section C—Functions and Powers of the Economic and Social Council

1. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

a. To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly;

b. To make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters;

c. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organization, and to coordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;

d. To examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned;

e. To enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council;

f. To assist the Security Council upon its request; and

g. To perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Section D—Organization and Procedure

1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization.

2. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

3. The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

CHAPTER X—THE SECRETARIAT

1. There should be a secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should be elected by the General Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

2. The secretary-general should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.

3. The secretary-general should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

CHAPTER XI—AMENDMENTS

Amendments should come into force for all members of the organization when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organization.

CHAPTER XII—TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

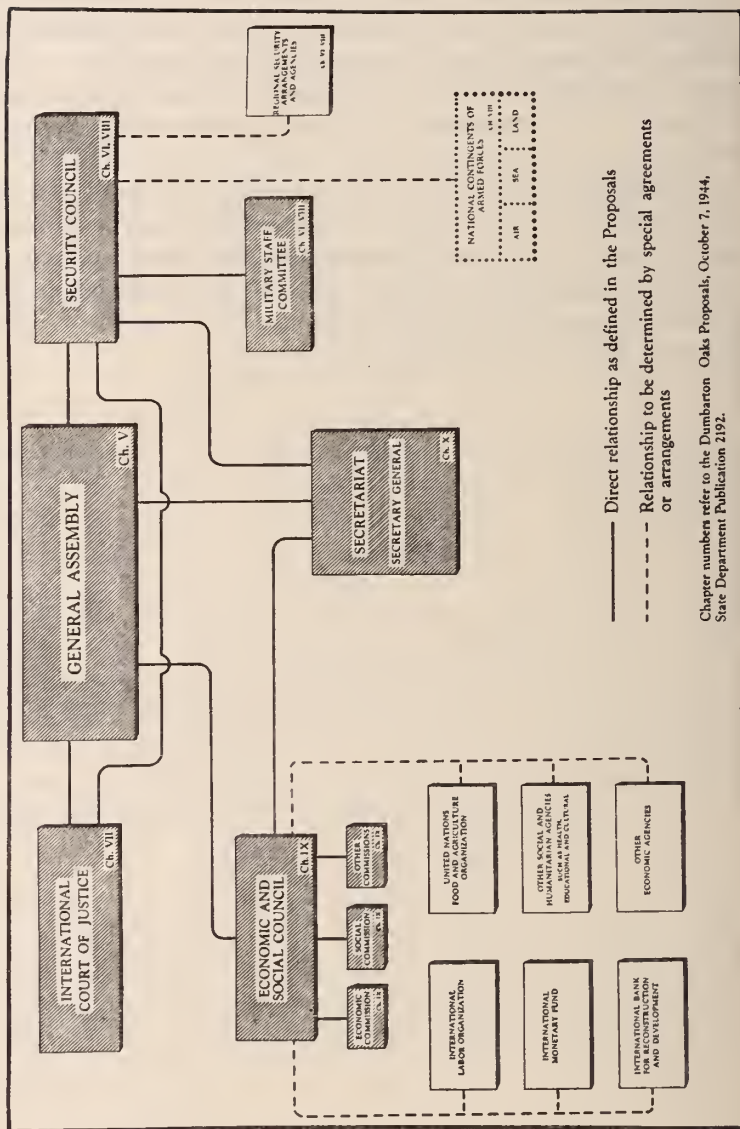
1. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, Paragraph

5, and in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 5 of the four-nation declaration signed at Moscow Oct. 30, 1943, the States parties to that declaration should consult with one another, and as occasion arises with other members of the organization, with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the governments having responsibility for such action.

Note: In addition to the question of voting procedure in the Security Council referred to in Chapter VI, several other questions are still under consideration.

ORGANIZATION CHART DUMBARTON OAKS



THE PLAN: OFFICIAL EXPLANATION

(Issued by Department of State, Feb. 1, 1945.)

What Are the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals?

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are recommendations for the establishment of a general international organization, submitted to their respective governments by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China following informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C. The Proposals were published October 9, 1944.

What Is the Present Status of the Proposals?

The Proposals are now being examined by the four governments. They are being discussed through informal official consultations, as well as by private groups, individuals, on the radio, and in the press and periodicals generally.

When a number of topics left for further consideration by the governments represented at Dumbarton Oaks have been completed, the Proposals will be formally submitted to the various governments to serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference at which the Charter of the Organization will be prepared. The Charter would be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

What States Would Be Members of the Organization?

Membership of the Organization would be open to all peace-loving states. States which do not become original members could be admitted by the General Assembly, upon recommendation of the Security Council.

As in the League of Nations, provision is made for expulsion from membership, but, unlike the League, there would be available the less drastic procedure of *suspension* from the exercise of any right or privilege of membership of any member against which preventive or enforcement action is taken.

With What Major Problems Would the Organization Deal?

To preserve international peace and security, it would seek to prevent the outbreak of war by (1) encouraging and promoting peaceful adjustment or settlement of international disputes by judicial and political means, (2) preventing and removing threats

to the peace, and (3) suppressing breaches of the peace, by combined force if necessary.

In the field of economic and social cooperation, it would facilitate the solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Upon What Principles of International Action Would the Organization Operate?

The Organization and its members would be obligated to act in accordance with a number of specific principles that would be stated in the Charter, including the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security would not be endangered, and abstention from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization. So far as would be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Organization would insure that non-members would act in accordance with the principles stated in the Proposals.

Through What Main Bodies Would the Organization Function?

A General Assembly, composed of all member states, meeting in annual and special sessions, and in which each state would have one vote. In contrast with the unanimity rule that prevailed in the League Assembly, the General Assembly's most important decisions would be made by a two-thirds majority of those states present and voting; on other questions, decisions would be by a simple majority vote.

A Security Council, composed of eleven member states, and so organized as to permit it to function continuously. The United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and in due course France, would have permanent seats, since these states, because of their capacity and resources, must assume the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The remaining members of the Security Council would be elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. All member states, regardless of size or other considerations, would be eligible for election to the non-permanent seats. Voting arrangements on the Security Council are under consideration.

An international court of justice, to whose statute all members of the Organization would be parties. All member states would have equal access to, and equal standing before, the international court.

A Secretariat, comprising an expert staff and headed by a Secretary-General as chief administrative officer.

An Economic and Social Council, composed of representatives of eighteen member states chosen by the General Assembly for three-year terms. All member states would be eligible for representation on the Economic and Social Council, and recommendations would be made by majority vote.

A Military Staff Committee, a new feature in international organization, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives, with provision for participation by other member states when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires it.

What Would Be the Primary Responsibilities of the General Assembly?

The General Assembly would:

1. Provide an international forum in which all member states, on a basis of sovereign equality, could consult together to develop their friendly relations, to deal with their common problems, and to promote measures to strengthen universal peace.

2. Initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international cooperation in political, economic, and social fields and to adjust situations likely to impair the general welfare.

3. Aid in the peaceful adjustment of international disputes, except that it would not on its own initiative make recommendations or take action on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security being dealt with by the Security Council. However, the Assembly would not at any time be prevented from discussing any question or situation, whether concerning international security or otherwise.

4. Have responsibility, with the aid of the Economic and Social Council, for promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

5. Elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and all members of the Economic and Social Council.

6. Admit new members, expel any member, and suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member against which preventive or enforcement action is taken, upon recommendation of the Security Council.

7. Make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the Organization.

8. Be responsible for the finances of the Organization.

Unlike the League of Nations where both the Assembly and the Council had similar general powers, in the proposed Organization the General Assembly would thus have primary responsibility for the facilitation of solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and the creation in general of conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace and promotion of general welfare, while the Security Council would have primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

What Would Be the Principal Powers of the Security Council for Maintaining Peace?

The Security Council, constituted as a relatively small body to act quickly, would be empowered:

1. To investigate any dispute or any situation the continuance of which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute.

2. To call upon states to settle their disputes by peaceful means of their own choice.

3. To recommend to states appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment of disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. To determine whether any situation threatens the peace or involves a breach of the peace, and to take any measures necessary to maintain or restore peace, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

5. To take diplomatic, economic, and other measures to give effect to its decisions.

6. To employ air, naval, or land forces to maintain or restore international peace, if measures short of force prove inadequate.

If necessary, the Security Council could take enforcement action not only as in the League when a state resorted to war in violation

of its obligations under the League Covenant, but also in the event of a threat to the peace to prevent its developing into a breach of peace.

While the Proposals thus provide greater centralization of responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security than did the League Covenant, these powers would be exercised under the authority of the entire Security Council and on behalf of the whole Organization, and in accordance with the specified principles and purposes of the Organization.

What Would Be the Functions of the International Court of Justice?

As the principal judicial organ of the Organization, the court would consider and render judgment in judiciable disputes referred to it by member states. The court would also, upon request, give advice to the Security Council on legal questions involved in other disputes. The specific powers and jurisdiction of the court would be defined in a statute which would be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organization, instead of being an independent instrument as was the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

What Would Be the Chief Responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council?

The Economic and Social Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, would have responsibility for:

1. Facilitating solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems.
2. Promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
3. Making recommendations for the coordination of the activities of international organizations and agencies which may be brought into relationship with the Organization, such as the International Labor Organization, the projected United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the proposed International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and probably other specialized agencies in the field of education, cultural cooperation, health, etc.

As compared with the pre-war situation, it is envisaged that a much larger number of specialized economic, social, and other

agencies would be created and would be brought into relationship with the new Organization on mutually agreeable terms.

How Would the Security Council Obtain the Military Forces That Might Be Needed in Maintaining Peace?

All member states would obligate themselves, by special agreements ratified according to their respective constitutional processes, to make available to the Security Council specified numbers and types of armed forces, facilities, or other assistance, and to hold immediately available national air-force contingents to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organization. These agreements would be subject to the approval of the Security Council. The Security Council, in turn, could call upon some member states, or if necessary all of them, to make available all or part of the forces, facilities, or assistance thus agreed upon.

How Would the Security Council Employ Any Military Forces Made Available to It?

Armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council would operate under its authority in accordance with plans made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee. Questions of the command of such forces would be worked out later.

What Provisions Are Made for the Regulation of Armaments?

The Security Council would have responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments to be submitted to member states. The Military Staff Committee would advise the Security Council on questions relating to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament.

How Would the Establishment of the United Nations Organization Affect the Inter-American System or Other Regional Arrangements?

Any existing regional arrangements consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization would be continued, and new arrangements of this sort could be created. The Security Council would encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional associations as the Inter-American System, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council. Inter-American agencies or other regional

agencies might also be employed in enforcement action, if they are suitable for that purpose, but only with the authorization and under the supervision of the Security Council.

What Are Some of the Main Differences Between the Procedure in Launching the Proposed New Organization and the League of Nations?

1. The four states which now bear the chief responsibility for bringing the war to a successful conclusion have committed themselves *during the war* to the establishment of a permanent general organization (Declaration of Moscow), whereas in 1918 no joint decision was made until after the close of hostilities.

2. Representatives of these same four states have held preliminary conversations in advance of the general conference and have agreed on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as a joint plan to be publicly examined prior to being used as a basis of discussion at the general United Nations Conference. Before the Versailles Conference peoples and governments had no opportunity to submit their comments and suggestions on a specific official plan.

3. The Charter of the United Nations Organization will be prepared at a United Nations Conference held independently of any peace conference.

4. The Charter would be an independent instrument unlike the League Covenant which was drawn up at the general peace conference and was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles and other peace treaties.

VOTING PROCEDURE: OFFICIAL EXPLANATION

(A proposed voting procedure for the Security Council was arranged by the Big Three at the Yalta Conference and is included in Chapter VI, Section C, on page 9. The State Department issued the following explanations of the proposals, the first by Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, March 24, 1945, and the other by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., March 5, 1945.)

MR. GREW'S EXPLANATION

The Department has received inquiries concerning the operation of the proposed voting procedure in the Security Council as agreed to at the Crimea Conference. These inquiries relate to the peaceful settlement of disputes in cases (a) when a permanent member of the Security Council is involved, and (b) when a permanent member is not involved.

The question is put in the following form: Could the projected international organization be precluded from discussing any dispute or situation which might threaten the peace and security by the act of any one of its members?

The answer is No. It is only when the question arises as to what, if any, decision or action the Security Council should take that the provisions covering the voting procedure would come into operation. This Government proposed the provisions for voting procedure in the Security Council which have been accepted by all governments sponsoring the San Francisco Conference as part of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which will afford a basis for a pattern for the international organization. It is this Government's understanding that under these voting procedures there is nothing which could prevent any state from bringing to the attention of the Security Council any dispute or any situation which it believes may lead to international friction or may give rise to a dispute. And furthermore, there is nothing in these provisions which could prevent any party to such dispute or situation from receiving a hearing before the Council and having the case discussed. Nor could any of the other members of the Council be prevented from making such observations on the matter as they wish to make.

The right of the General Assembly to consider and discuss any dispute or situation would remain, of course, at all times untrammelled.

Under the proposed voting procedure for the Security Council an affirmative vote of seven out of the eleven members is necessary for decision on both substantive and procedural matters. Decisions as to procedural matters would be made by the votes of any seven members.

A. When a Permanent Member Is Involved

In decisions on enforcement measures the vote of seven must include the votes of all five permanent members whether or not they are parties to the dispute. On questions involving the peaceful settlement of disputes no party to the dispute—whether or not a permanent member—may vote. In such decisions the vote of seven must include those permanent members which are not parties to the dispute.

This means that when a permanent member of the Security Council is involved in a dispute the representative of that state may not vote on matters involving the peaceful settlement of that dispute (under Section A of Chapter VIII). In other words, that permanent member would have no “veto” in these matters. In this case, however, the remaining permanent members must concur in the total vote of seven by which the Security Council reaches its decisions. Any permanent member not party to the dispute would thus have a “veto,” should it care to exercise it.

Further, if two of the permanent members of the Council are parties to a dispute neither of them can vote, and the decision must be made by the three remaining permanent members and four of the non-permanent members of the Council. If more than two permanent members are involved in a dispute the vote would require the concurrence of the remaining permanent members plus the number of non-permanent members necessary to make a total of seven. Under such circumstances, if there are four members of the Council involved in the dispute—and, therefore, none of the four could vote—each of the remaining members of the Council, whether permanent or non-permanent, would have the same “veto.”

B. When a Permanent Member Is Not Involved

When a permanent member of the Security Council is not involved in a dispute the affirmative vote of each of the five

permanent members is required for the Council to take any decisions or action on that dispute.

MR. STETTINIUS' EXPLANATION

The practical effect of these provisions taken together, is that a difference is made, so far as voting is concerned, between the quasi-judicial function of the Security Council in promoting the pacific settlement of disputes and the political function of the council in taking action for the maintenance of peace and security.

Where the council is engaged in performing its quasi-judicial functions of promoting pacific settlement of disputes, no nation, large or small, should be above the law. This means that no nation, large or small, if a party to a dispute, would participate in the decisions of the Security Council on questions like the following:

- (a) Whether a matter should be investigated;
- (b) Whether the dispute or situation is of such a nature that its continuation is likely to threaten the peace;
- (c) Whether the Council should call on the parties to settle a dispute by means of their own choice;
- (d) Whether, if the dispute is referred to the Council, a recommendation should be made as to methods and procedures of settlement;
- (e) Whether the Council should make such recommendations before the dispute is referred to it;
- (f) What should be the nature of this recommendation;
- (g) Whether the legal aspect of the dispute should be referred to the court for advice;
- (h) Whether a regional agency should be asked to concern itself with the dispute; and
- (i) Whether the dispute should be referred to the General Assembly.

Where the Council is engaged in performing its political functions of action for maintenance of peace and security, a difference is made between the permanent members of the Council and other nations for the practical reason that the permanent members of the Council must, as a matter of necessity, bear the principal responsibility for action. Unanimous agreement among the perma-

nent members of the Council is therefore requisite. In such matters, therefore, the concurrence of all the permanent members would be required. Examples are:

(a) Determination of the existence of a threat or breach of the peace;

(b) Use of force or other enforcement measures;

(c) Approval of agreements for supply of armed forces;

(d) Matters relating to the regulation of armaments; and

(e) Matters concerning the suspension and expulsion of members, and the admission of new members.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

(Promulgated by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill
on August 14, 1941.)

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

8. They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside

of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.



DECLARATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

(Signed in Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1942.)

The governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

1. Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the tripartite pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

2. Each government pledges itself to cooperate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggles for victory over Hitlerism.

THE MACKINAC DECLARATION

(Adopted at Mackinac Island, Sept. 7, 1943, by the Republican Post-War Advisory Council.)

The members of this council are aware of the gravity of the problems our nation faces. We are fighting a desperate war, which must be won as speedily as possible. When the war is ended we must participate in the making of the peace. This puts upon the nation a triple responsibility.

(a) We must preserve and protect all our own national interests.

(b) We must aid in restoring order and decent living in a distressed world.

(c) We must do our full share in a program for permanent peace among nations.

At this time a detailed program for the accomplishment of these great objectives will be impossible, and specific commitments of this council of the Republican party, or by the nation, would be unwise. We cannot know now what situation may obtain at the war's end. But a specific program must be devolved in the months to come, as events and relations unfold.

Therefore we consider it to be our duty at the beginning of our work as an advisory council of the Republican party to declare our approval of the following:

1. Prosecution of the war by a united nation to conclusive victory over all our enemies, including

(a) Disarmament and disorganization of the armed forces of the Axis.

(b) Disqualification of the Axis to construct facilities for the manufacture of the implements of war.

(c) Permanent maintenance of trained and well-equipped armed forces at home.

2. Responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world.

In making this recommendation we ground our judgment upon the belief that both the foreign policy and domestic policy of every country are related to each other so closely that each member of

the United Nations (or whatever cooperative organization perpetuating existing unity may be agreed upon) ought to consider both the immediate and remote consequences of every proposition with careful regard for

1. Its effect upon the vital interests of the nation.
2. Its bearing upon the foreseeable international developments.

If there should be a conflict between the two, then the United States of America should adhere to the policy which will preserve its constitutionalism as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution itself and the Bill of Rights, as administered through our republican form of government. Constitutionalism should be adhered to in determining the substance of our policies and shall be followed in ways and means of making international commitments.

In addition to these things, this council advises that peace and security ought to be ultimately established upon other sanctions than force. It recommends that we work toward a policy which will comprehend other means than war for the determination of international controversy; and the attainment of a peace that will prevail by virtue of its inherent reciprocal interests and its spiritual foundation, reached from time to time with the understanding of the peoples of the negotiating nations.

In all of these undertakings we favor the widest consultation of the gallant men and women in our armed forces who have a special right to speak with authority on behalf of the security and liberty for which they fight.

It is determined that this council make complete examination of the means by which these ends may be fully achieved with due regard for all American interests and responsibilities.

The council invites all Americans to adhere to the principles here set forth to the end that our place among the nations of the world and our part in helping to bring about international peace and justice shall not be the subject of domestic partisan controversy and political bitterness.

THE MOSCOW DECLARATION

(Issued on Oct. 30, 1943, following a meeting in Moscow of the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. It was signed by them and by the Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union.)

The governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

Recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments;

Jointly declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other mem-

bers of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7. That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

THE FULBRIGHT RESOLUTION

(Text of the Resolution, introduced by Representative J. W. Fulbright (Arkansas), passed Sept. 21, 1943, by a vote of 360 to 29 by House of Representatives.)

RESOLVED, That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace, among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein, through its constitutional processes.



THE CONNALLY RESOLUTION

(Text of the Resolution, introduced by Senator Tom Connally, Democrat, of Texas and passed by the Senate Nov. 3, 1943, by a vote of 85-5.)

RESOLVED, That the war against all our enemies be waged until complete victory is achieved.

That the United States cooperate with its comrades-in-arms in securing a just and honorable peace.

That the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world.

That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

That, pursuant to the Constitution of the United States, any treaty made to effect the purposes of this resolution, on behalf of the Government of the United States with any other nation or any association of nations, shall be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS PLANK: REPUBLICAN

(Adopted at the Republican Convention, June 27, 1944.)

We pledge prosecution of the war to total victory against our enemies in full cooperation with the United Nations and all-out support of our Armies and the maintenance of our Navy under the competent and trained direction of our General Staff and Office of Naval Operations without civilian interference and with every civilian resource.

At the earliest possible time after the cessation of hostilities we will bring home all members of our armed forces who do not have unexpired enlistments and who do not volunteer for further overseas duty.

We declare our relentless aim to win the war against all our enemies: (1) for our own American security and welfare; (2) to make and keep the Axis powers impotent to renew tyranny and attack; (3) for the attainment of peace and freedom based on justice and security.

We shall seek to achieve such aims through organized international cooperation and not by joining a world state.

We favor responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world.

Such organization should develop effective cooperative means to direct peace forces to prevent or repel military aggression. Pending this, we pledge continuing collaboration with the United Nations to assure these ultimate objectives.

We believe, however, that peace and security do not depend upon the sanction of force alone, but should prevail by virtue of reciprocal interests and spiritual values recognized in these security agreements. The treaties of peace should be just; the nations which are the victims of aggression should be restored to sovereignty and self-government; and the organized cooperation of the nations should concern itself with basic causes of world disorder. It should promote a world opinion to influence the nations to right conduct, develop international law and maintain an international tribunal to deal with justiciable disputes.

We shall seek, in our relations with other nations, conditions calculated to promote world-wide economic stability, not only for the sake of the world, but also to the end that our own people may enjoy a high level of employment in an increasingly prosperous world.

We shall keep the American people informed concerning all agreements with foreign nations. In all of these undertakings we favor the widest consultation of the gallant men and women in our armed forces, who have a special right to speak with authority in behalf of the security and liberty for which they fight. We shall sustain the Constitution of the United States in the attainment of our international aims; and pursuant to the Constitution of the United States any treaty or agreement to attain such aims made on behalf of the United States with any other nation or any association of nations shall be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

We shall at all times protect the essential interests and resources of the United States.

We shall develop Pan-American solidarity. The citizens of our neighboring nations in the Western Hemisphere are, like ourselves, Americans. Cooperation with them shall be achieved through mutual agreement and without interference in the internal affairs of any nation. Our policy should be a genuine good neighbor policy commanding their respect, and not one based on the reckless squandering of American funds by overlapping agencies.

We favor the maintenance of post-war military forces and establishments of ample strength for the successful defense and the safety of the United States, its possessions and outposts, for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and for meeting any military commitments determined by Congress.

We favor the peacetime maintenance and strengthening of the National Guards under State control with Federal training and equipment as now provided in the National Defense Act.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS PLANK: DEMOCRATIC

(Adopted at the Democratic Convention, July 20, 1944.)

The primary and imperative duty of the United States is to wage the war with every resource available to final triumph over our enemies, and we pledge that we will continue to fight side by side with the United Nations until this supreme objective shall have been attained and thereafter to secure a just and lasting peace.

That the world may not again be drenched in blood by international outlaws and criminals, we pledge:

To join with the other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security;

To make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible the preparation for war and which would have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

Such organization must be endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

We favor the maintenance of an international court of justice of which the United States shall be a member and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration and other like methods where appropriate in the settlement of international disputes.

World peace is of transcendent importance. Our gallant sons are dying on land, on sea, and in the air. They do not die as Republicans. They do not die as Democrats. They die as Americans. We pledge that their blood shall not have been shed in vain. America has the opportunity to lead the world in this great service to mankind. The United States must meet the challenge. Under divine Providence, she must move forward to her high destiny.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS"

(From an address before a joint session of Congress, Jan. 8, 1918.)

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which

she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered upon.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Adopted unanimously by the Paris Peace Conference, April 28, 1919; included in Peace treaty, which the United States Senate on March 19, 1920, refused to ratify. The final count was 49 votes for and 35 against, seven less than the Constitutional two-thirds necessary for Senate ratification. Amendments made to the original Covenant are shown in italics.)

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, in order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE 1—MEMBERSHIP AND WITHDRAWAL

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2—EXECUTIVE ORGANS

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3—ASSEMBLY

1. The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4—COUNCIL

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers [United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan], together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be Members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League, whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

2. *bis.* *The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.*

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE 5—VOTING AND PROCEDURE

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6—SECRETARIAT AND EXPENSES

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5. *The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.*

ARTICLE 7—SEAT, QUALIFICATIONS OF OFFICIALS, IMMUNITIES

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8—REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

1. The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9—PERMANENT MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR COMMISSION

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Article 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10—GUARANTIES AGAINST AGGRESSION

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11—ACTION IN CASE OF WAR OR THREAT OF WAR

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12—DISPUTES TO BE SUBMITTED FOR SETTLEMENT

1. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or *judicial settlement* or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or *the judicial decision* or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators or *the judicial decision* shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13—ARBITRATION OR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT

1. The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*, and which can not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration *or judicial settlement*.

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*.

3. *For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.*

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award *or decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award *or decision*, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14—PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 15—DISPUTES NOT SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION OR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT

1. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration *or judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the

Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute provided that such request

be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16—SANCTIONS OF PACIFIC SETTLEMENT

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are cooperating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17—DISPUTES INVOLVING NON-MEMBERS

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18—REGISTRATION AND PUBLICATION OF TREATIES

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19—REVIEW OF TREATIES

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become

inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20—ABROGATION OF INCONSISTENT OBLIGATIONS

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagement inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21—ENGAGEMENTS THAT REMAIN VALID

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22—MANDATORY SYSTEM

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interest of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23—SOCIAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24—INTERNATIONAL BUREAUS

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat

of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25—PROMOTION OF RED CROSS AND HEALTH

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26—AMENDMENTS

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

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